

Nationalism, Imperialism and Cosmopolitanism in Russian Nineteenth-Century Provincial Amateur Music-Making

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IN his novel, *Privalovskie milliony* (written in the 1870s, published in 1883 and set in a mid-century provincial town), Dmitrii Narkisovich Mamin-Sibiriak described the follow scene: three men have just enjoyed an opulent lunch and are now retiring into the living room. They are Privalov, the host Polovodov and the latter's brother-in-law Verevkin. In the living room they are joined by Polovodov's wife and Verevkin's sister Antonida Ivanovna:

Verevkin recovering from the after-effects of the immoderate meal, caught hold of his sister and dragged her to the piano. 'Play the Volga song, Tonia, darling', he pleaded. 'For me. Pay no heed to Privalov. [...] Sing, darling'. Antonida Ivanovna sat down at the grand piano, played a few chords and began to sing a Russian lyrical song in a quiet but very clear contralto voice: The Wide Volga Waters raised,

They raised to one level with the high shore...

This plaintive song was sung the way ordinary folk sing, but which one never encounters on stage: with the simple expression that clenches the soul. Antonida Ivanova knew how to draw out that painful, sorrow-filled

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note which is characteristic of Russian lyrical song, filled with mute tears and intense longing for some freedom and an unknown happiness. [...]

Privalov wanted to reply something to Polovodov when the first notes of the song were struck, but instead remained motionless in his seat, his mouth wide open...

— This is Tonia — Polovodov said in reply to Privalov's silent question.

— She sings Russian songs quite decently when she's in the mood.²

Polovodov himself [...] loved French chansonettes most of all, but in his capacity as a Slavophile, he regarded it as his duty to humble himself immediately every time his wife sang.¹

Not long after this scene, Privalov enters into a love affair with Antonina Ivanovna. As is obvious from the quote above, she seduces him by singing a Russian folk song.

Russian nineteenth-century music is usually described through the lives and works of its famous composers.² In this account, the narrative of their achievements makes up a story about the rise of Russian music, which goes hand in hand with the gradual professionalization of musical life. Even the history of material culture that underpinned this development — such as the commercial activities of piano makers or the growth of the printing industry — has been told through the lens of musical genius: the focus here too has been on the high-quality pianos preferred by professional musicians, or the publication history of important compositions.³

This history is, moreover, usually told in relation to national identity, whereby composers, the groups in which artists moved and the audiences within which their works were received, are placed in relation to a consciously Russian or Western ideology. In particular, much has been made of the alleged opposition between a style supposedly informed by Western musical professionalism — symbolized by the works of Anton Rubinstein and Petr Chaikovskii — and a national form of musical expression which emerged seemingly organically within a group of composer amateurs, the so-called *kuchka* (often referred to as the 'mighty five' in English).⁴ Even

¹ Dmitrii Narkisovich Mamin-Sibiriak, *Privalovskie milliony*, Moscow, 1958, pp. 146–47.

² Francis Maes, *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA, 2002; Richard Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays*, Princeton, NJ, 1997; Marina Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism: From Glinka to Stalin*, New Haven, 2007; Iu. V. Keldysh et al., *Istoriia russkoi muzyki*, Moscow, 1994.

³ Anne Swartz, *Piano Makers in Russia in the Nineteenth Century*, Lanham, MD, 2014; B Vol'man, *Russkie notnye izdaniia xix nachala xx veka*, Leningrad, 1970.

⁴ Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism*; Taruskin, *Defining Russia*; Maes,

though Richard Taruskin and Marina Frolova-Walker have eloquently shown that the *kuchka*'s compositions and their allegedly intrinsic affinity to a national character was established by a public relations campaign rather than being grounded in musical construction, the categories of 'Russian' versus 'Western' have remained the main analytical concepts in their studies of Russian nineteenth-century music and in the works of other scholars. Recently, Rutger Helmers, following from Taruskin and Frolova-Walker, argued for cosmopolitanism as an important aspect of Russian nineteenth-century opera, but his work, which stresses the opposite of nationalism, namely cosmopolitanism, as an important principle in Russian music, ultimately retains the traditional binary opposites.⁵

This article tries to move away from the juxtaposition of Russian national versus Western musical expression — perceived or otherwise. To be clear, the national and the international are present here too, but my aim is to assess a more complex position of such musical connotations within an imperial context. In order to access musical expressions that are less clearly delineated along intellectual definitions of what it meant to sound Russian or not, I turn away from the high-brow tradition that focuses on compositional genius, on the genres of opera and substantial orchestral works, and on performances in the cultural centres of the imperial capitals. Instead, my attention moves into the Russian provinces and to the amateur musical practices that dominated music-making there.

In doing so, I am partly following Lynn Sargeant's cue, whose study on nineteenth-century musical life devotes much attention to the provinces.⁶ Yet unlike Sargeant, whose focus on the activities of the Russian Musical Society means that she retains an emphasis on an increasingly institutionalized and professionally organized musical culture, my intention here is different: while also zooming in on provincial musical activities, I focus on domestic amateur practices, which — despite the increasing institutionalization shown by Sargeant — remained an important cultural factor in the empire's cities and towns.⁷

Russian Music; Richard Stites, *Serfdom, Society, and the Arts in Imperial Russia: The Pleasure and the Power*, New Haven, CT, 2006; Lynn A. Sargeant, *Harmony and Discord: Music and the Transformation of Russian Cultural Life*, Oxford, 2011.

⁵ Rutger Helmers, *Not Russian Enough? Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism in Nineteenth-Century Russian Opera*, Rochester, NY, 2014.

⁶ Sargeant, *Harmony and Discord*.

⁷ I thus only partly agree with Sargeant's claim that 'Russian musical life was effectively relocated from the private to the public sphere, from the capitals to the provinces, from the intimate confines of the circle and salon to modern institutions such as the conservatory, and from the hands of amateurs to the control of professionals'. *Ibid.* p. 3.

Research on Russian nineteenth-century music has rarely been concerned with these more modest forms.⁸ Amateur musical activities during the first half of the nineteenth century — i.e. in the period before we can speak of the professionalization of Russian musical life — have received scholarly attention from Richard Stites, who analysed aristocratic culture centred around the country estate and the exquisite salon of noble elites in St Petersburg.⁹ As Stites shows, musical entertainment on noble estates before 1861 was often provided by serf orchestras, while the hosts of elegant salons in the capitals and their guests performed and even at times mingled awkwardly with professional musicians. Because of his focus on aristocrats and their serfs, or on their uncomfortable interactions with social inferiors, Stites's work foregrounds questions of social distinctions and hierarchies. While I retain his attention on the 'household as center of cultural life', and agree with his assessment of the salon as bridge between different social groups, social stratification is much less pronounced in my examples.¹⁰ Instead, my material illustrates the ways in which provincial amateur practice brought together aspects of high-brow culture and the popular tradition which Stites describes as 'an altogether different universe'.¹¹

Although imperial law classified the tsar's subjects according to various social estates which defined their differing rights and obligations, historians have increasingly pointed towards cultural factors — such as education and taste, quotidian life and wealth (or the lack of it) — that brought people of diverse social categories together and allow us to speak of a social middle.¹² This middle strata — which included petty landowners,

⁸ Amateur music-making in Western and Northern Europe has received more attention. See, for example, Andreas Ballstaedt and Tobias Widmaier, *Salonmusik: Zur Geschichte und Funktion einer bürgerlichen Musikpraxis*, Stuttgart, 1989; Eva Öhrström, *Borgerliga kvinnors musicerande i 1800-talets Sverige*, Göteborg, 1987; Walter Salmen, *Haus- und Kammermusik: Privates Musizieren und gesellschaftlicher Wandel zwischen 1600 und 1900*, Leipzig, n.d; Rebecca Grotjahn, 'Playing at Refinement: A Musicological Approach to Music, Gender and Class Around 1900', *German History*, 30, 2012, pp. 395–411.

⁹ Stites, *Serfdom, Society, and the Arts*.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 2, 57, 71.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 2.

¹² These estates included, among others, nobles, merchants, petty bourgeois (*meshchane*), 'people of varying ranks' (*raznochintsy*) and peasants. Gregory L. Freeze, 'The Soslovie (Estate) Paradigm and Russian Social History', *The American Historical Review*, 91, 1989, pp. 11–36; Harley D. Balzer (ed.), *Russia's Missing Middle Class: The Professions in Russian History*, Armonk, NY and London, 1996. Historians who have convincingly identified a culturally defined middle include Catriona Kelly, *Refining Russia: Advice Literature, Polite Culture, and Gender from Catherine to Yeltsin*, Oxford, 2001, pp. 96–100; Miranda Beaven Remnek, "A Larger Proportion of the Public": Female Readers, Fiction, and the Periodical

junior military officers, civil servants, professionals, members of the clergy, merchants and plebeian town dwellers — was particularly visible in small or remote provincial towns which did not entice wealthy nobles to spend significant amounts of time there. Perm', in the Urals, was one such provincial centre. The richest magnates of the empire owned huge estates in Perm' province, but they avoided the region and its capital because they regarded it as remote, dull and rough.¹³ Consequently, cultural life in Perm' was dominated by civil servants, merchants and other representatives of Russia's middling sort.

These urban inhabitants espoused an ideology of domesticity in which amateur music-making was one important component. The shared enthusiasm for violins, for example, brought Mikhail Petrovich Norin (1834–1905), an employee at the governmental excise office in Perm', into contact with the local pharmacist and other hobby instrument makers; while regular rehearsals at home united his extended family and friends.¹⁴ Similarly, the joy of playing duets fostered the friendship between the teacher Iulii Mikhailovich Shtokman (1839–1905) and the retired general Ivan Andreevich Klinger (1819–97) in Kursk.¹⁵

As only few cities entertained their inhabitants with regular concerts, most contemporaries — like Norin, Klinger, Shtokman, or Antonida Ivanovna's fictional audience — encountered secular music mainly in their own private homes. And within the private realm, the drawing room or

Press in the Reign of Nicholas I', in Barbara T. Norton and Jehanne M. Gheith (eds), *An Improper Profession: Women, Gender, and Journalism in Late Imperial Russia*, Durham, NC and London, 2001, p. 46. For a similar approach in relation to Western Europe, see Jürgen Kocka's definition of the middle class. According to Kocka, this social group was too diverse for it to be defined in strict Marxist terms that rely upon economical means of existence and production. Jürgen Kocka, 'The Middle Classes in Europe', *Journal of Modern History*, 67, 1995, pp. 783–806. On a bourgeoisie that, like its Russian counterpart, was comparably varied, see Jesus Cruz, *Rise of Middle-Class Culture in Nineteenth-Century Spain*, Baton Rouge, LA, 2011.

¹³ According to the imperious and opinionated Anna Ivanovna Diaghileva, there were only 'prisoners in shackles' in the city. E. V. Diaghileva, *Semeinaia sapis' o Diaghilevykh*, St Petersburg and Perm', 1998, p. 23. Similar, although slightly less scathing views were voiced by the writers Pavel Ivanovich Mel'nikov (alias Andrei Pecherskii) and D. N. Mamin-Sibiriak. Pavel Ivanovich Mel'nikov (alias Andrei Pecherskii), 'Dorozhnye zapiski na puti iz Tambovskoi gubernii v Sibir'' (first published in *Otechestvennye zapiski*, 1839), *Polnoe sobranie sochineniia*, vol. 12, St Petersburg, 1898, pp. 359–68; D. N. Mamin-Sibiriak, 'Staraia Perm': putevye ocherki', *Sobranie sochineniia*, vol. 12, Sverdlovsk, 1951, p. 295 (first published 1889).

¹⁴ Gosudarstvennoe kraevoe biudzhetnoe uchrezhdenie kul'tury 'Perm'skii kraevedcheskii muzei' (hereafter, GKBUK PKM, No. POKM-NV-2896/2; GKBUK PKM, No. POKM-NV-2896/7).

¹⁵ Vera Shtokman, 'Iz moikh vospominaniakh: I. A. Klinger', *Gitarist*, 1904, pp. 2–4.

salon became the most important place for musical activity. Scholars have described the salon of the urban home as one of the ‘most important spaces of musical activity in the nineteenth century’.¹⁶ In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, it was a venue for polite aristocratic sociability, where those present discussed art and literature, played agreeable games and guests or visiting musicians offered (background) entertainment.¹⁷ The real triumph of salon music, however, occurred in the second half of the nineteenth century. By that time, the urban bourgeoisie had adopted salon sociability and transformed its ritual in ways that expressed middle-class aspirations and values.¹⁸

The salon was the representative room of the bourgeois home, which displayed both the family’s material and spiritual accomplishments. In one merchant house in Saratov on the Volga river, for example, the walls of such a room were adorned with ‘expensive wallpaper, the ceilings painted with flowers and figures of Cupid’, while portraits of the emperor and empress hung over the sofa. Further attractions in this particular ‘zal’ were a portrait of Napoleon, an oil painting mounted in a massive gold frame depicting Dmitrii Donskoi after the battle of Kulikovo in 1380, and a ‘large organ with a considerable number of stops’.¹⁹ This salon thus underlined the family’s patriotic sentiment by celebrating the Romanov rulers and important military events of the country’s past. It also stressed its owners’ material well-being by flaunting expensive items, and drew attention to their historical and aesthetic sophistication through pictures, ornaments, references to classical mythology and the organ.

Music played an important role in this visible bourgeois culturedness, not only in the Russian empire, but throughout Europe.²⁰ Arthur Loesser has suggested that a bulky piano (or organ) tied a family dwelling to culture in a particularly firm way. Unlike a guitar or any other small instrument,

¹⁶ The other venue with a comparable significance according to Christensen is the operatic stage. Thomas Christensen, ‘Public Music in Private Spaces: Piano-Vocal Scores and the Domestication of Opera’, in Kate van Orden (ed.), *Music and the Cultures of Print*, New York and London, 2000, p. 88.

¹⁷ On the Russian aristocratic salon and its decline, see Kelly, *Refining Russia*, pp. 58–60.

¹⁸ Ballstaedt and Widmaier, *Salonmusik*; Öhrström, *Borgerliga kvinnors musicerande*; Eva Öhrström, *Klaveret, notboken och behagligheten: Om kvinnors musicerande under romantiken*, Stockholm, 1991; Lina Bernstein, ‘Women on the Verge of a New Language: Russian Salon Hostesses in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century’, in Helena Goscilo and Beth Holmgren (eds), *Russia, Women, Culture*, Bloomington and Indianapolis, IN, 1996, pp. 209–24.

¹⁹ I. Ia. Slavin, *Minuvshee — perezhitoe: Vospominaniia*, Saratov, 2013, p. 27.

²⁰ Ballstaedt and Widmaier, *Salonmusik*; Öhrström, *Klaveret, notboken*.

which 'a son might readily conscript for tavern conviviality', and which might even end up in a dark closet, a heavy piano could not be moved about that easily. It thereby 'anchored the music firmly within the family circle. Its inertia, if nothing else, made it the focus of the domestic musical life'.²¹ This might be one reason why throughout Europe, aspiring town dwellers wanted to display such an instrument in their homes. Russia's middling population was no exception. One commentator observed in 1859 that everyone, from the aristocrat, the official, merchant, to the craftsman wanted to have a piano.²²

The domestic character of the piano tied the instrument to contemporary ideas about femininity. In the first half of the nineteenth century, women's journals, which were read throughout the empire, were the prime locus of music publishing.²³ These publications taught their readers about music by reviewing concerts, portraying touring virtuosos and printing sheet music. In journals such as *Damskii zhurnal* (The Lady's Journal), *Damskii al'bom* (The Lady's Album) or *Vaza* (The Vase), music-related articles sat side by side with instructions on good housekeeping, suggestions for home decoration and patterns for fashionable laces, hats, dresses, shoes and hairdos. Nineteenth-century women's journals thereby suggested that musical accomplishment was as fundamental a component in a woman's character as the ability to dress fashionably or the capacity to lead a household.

Like the piano, which embellished the home, an accomplished lady entertained guests with agreeable conversations or charming little pieces, and was thus herself a decoration to her family. Young women, of course, had to learn these artistic skills, and musical training figured prominently in the curricula of girls' schools, while private music schools throughout the empire advertised their additional services.²⁴ In the provinces, school concerts played a prominent part in urban cultural life in mid-century, and they offered occasions at which young musicians enjoyed attention and admiration. The newspapers of Perm' and Saratov provinces, for example, reported such school concerts in the 1840s and 1850, and celebrated the skills of local pupils.²⁵ Famous institutes in the capitals even hired

²¹ Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos: A Social History*, New York, 1954, p. 54.

²² V Morkov, 'O muzykal'nom obrazovanii v Rossii', *Vaza*, 1859, pp. 253–54.

²³ Vol'man, *Russkie notnye izdaniia*, pp. 182–204. For information about the geographic spread of the readership see, for example, the list of subscribers in *Vaza*. 'Chislo gg. podpisnikov po 1 apreliu', *Vaza*, 1848, unpaginated.

²⁴ *Adres-kalendar'*, Perm', 1894, for example, lists the teachers on the payroll of schools in Perm', while advertisements for a music school can be found at GKBK PKM, No. POKM-NV-2889/7-2.

²⁵ 'Ob eksamene v pansione gospozhi Shumakher', *Damskii zhurnal*, 1827, pp. 321–23;

prominent instrumentalists as teachers — such as the Irish piano star John Field — thereby highlighting the aesthetic accomplishment of their students.²⁶

Memoirists describe the piano-playing young woman as an important figure during social gatherings.²⁷ While men could also play other instruments, as the aforementioned Norin with his enthusiasm for violins illustrates, playing the piano or singing were deemed to be particularly appropriate musical activities for women. Norin's wife and daughters in Perm' were consequently pianists while the men played their violins and cellos.²⁸ A woman who played the piano offered not only pleasant entertainment, but also indicated to others that her family was cultured, had the means to obtain instruments and provide musical instruction. In short, her musical skills came to stand for a certain social status. This led some parents, such as Praskovia Tatlina (1808–99), the wife of a low-ranking state official and resident of Moscow, to force piano lessons on her daughters as part of her attempt to underline their social distinction.²⁹

According to Miranda Beaven Remnek's analysis of subscription lists, about half the readers of women's journals belonged to society's middling ranks in the first half of the century.³⁰ Yet despite — or maybe because of — this fairly democratic readership, these journals created, in Gitta Hammaberg's word, a rather exquisite 'ambience' that revolved around a luxurious toilette, made frequent references to high society, and blurred the distinction between a woman and 'her ornamental world'.³¹ With the rise of consumer culture in the second half of the century, domestic music — while remaining a symbol of cultural distinction — was practised by a wider constituency.

'Ob ispytaniakh v Perm'skom pansione dlia blagorodnykh devits g-zhi Shtikkel', *Perm'skie gubernskie vedomosti*, 1848, pp. 95–96; A. S. Maiorova, 'Muzykal'naia zhizn' Saratova 50-x gg. XIX v. na stranitsakh "Saratovskikh gubernskikh vedomostei"', in S. V. Fomina (ed.), *Grad Kitezh' russkoi kul'tury: Ot zabveniia k vozrozhdeniiu. Sbornik statei po materialam Vserossiiskoi nauchnoi konferentsii*, Saratov, 2014, pp. 64–65.

²⁶ *Damskii zhurnal*, for example, reported in 1830 about a recital of the famed pianist John Field and his students from one St Petersburg school. 'Muzykal'nyi vecher na pansione g-zhi Diuperon', *Damskii zhurnal*, 1830, pp. 75–76.

²⁷ Nikolai Rimskii-Korsakov, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Moscow, 1955, chapters 1 & 2.

²⁸ GKBKPKM, No. POKM-NV-2896/1.

²⁹ Praskovia Tatlina, 'Reminiscences', in Toby W. Clyman and Judith Vowels (eds), *Russia Through Women's Eyes: Autobiographies from Tsarist Russia*, New Haven, CT, 1996, pp. 242–80.

³⁰ Remnek, 'A Larger Proportion', p. 31.

³¹ Gitta Hammarberg, 'The First Russian Women's Journals and the Construction of the Reader', in Alessandra Tosi and Wendy Rosslyn (eds), *Women in Russian Culture and Society*, Basingstoke and New York, 2007, pp. 85–90.

In the 1850s, the Saratov salon described above stood out by its luxury and its owner's affinity to the values of classical education.³² Yet the emergence of more and more music shops and piano manufacturers throughout the Russian empire in the second half of the century demonstrates the growing number of customers who obtained such items.³³ Similarly, advice literature in the late imperial period, which among other things informed readers about the items that a respectable household ought to contain, frequently made references to keyboard instruments.³⁴

Throughout Europe, the success of salon music among the bourgeoisie was made possible by the economic and social developments of the century. Industrialization and urbanization increased the number of entrepreneurs, merchants and professionals, i.e. those members of society who championed this culture. It also furthered the wealth that was needed to obtain instruments, sheet music and to pay teachers. Technological advances in turn accelerated the production of musical commodities. In 1878, for example, the firm of P. I. Jurgenson, Russia's most successful music publisher, managed to cut the price of his sheet music by 50 per cent, thanks to the introduction of high-volume lithography.³⁵ Jurgenson's motivation to sell more printed music was in turn prompted by the soaring production of instruments. Instrument makers constantly developed new, or improved existent musical devices. In the case of the piano, the development of metal frames and cross stringing, which influenced the production and shape of keyboard instruments and their sound, have been noted by many scholars.³⁶ Instrument makers also developed smaller versions of the grand piano, such as uprights or cabinet instruments, and they sold these together with the even less expensive pump organ to customers with smaller purses and less space at home.

The market for musical products in the Russian empire became so vibrant in the second half of the nineteenth century that musical commodities were advertised widely in newspapers and journals, and a growing number of instrument makers and traders promoted sheet music and affordable instruments for shipment throughout the empire.³⁷

³² Slavin, *Minushee*, p. 27.

³³ Swartz, *Piano Makers*.

³⁴ Kelly, *Refining Russia*, pp. 161–62.

³⁵ Vol'man, *Russkie notnye izdaniia*, p. 163. On Jurgenson and his business, see S. V. Belov, *Muzykal'noe izdatel'stvo P. I. Iurgensona*, St Petersburg, 2001.

³⁶ Cyril Ehrlich, *The Piano: A History*, Oxford, 1990; Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos*; Swartz, *Piano Makers*; James Parakilas, *Piano Roles: Three Hundred Years of Life with the Piano*, New Haven, CT and London, 1999.

³⁷ Swartz, *Piano Makers*, pp. 96–110.

Jurgenson, for example, operated with agents throughout the empire, as did his Petersburg competitor Gutheil, from whom Norin in Perm' ordered parts for his violins in 1864.³⁸ How successfully musical commodities produced in the capitals reached the provinces is also illustrated by the holdings of regional libraries in Saratov, whose pre-Revolutionary collection of sheet music provided the starting point for the analysis of the provincial music repertoire which informs the second part of this article.

At the same time as traders established a tight network of deliveries, an increasing number of music shops and even factories emerged in the empire's provinces. In 1886, for example, Dmitrii Ivanovich Iumanov opened a piano and pump organ factory in Perm'.³⁹ Iumanov also sold string instruments and sheet music at his two music stores. In 1910, Iumanov's widow was one of eight traders of musical items in Perm'; a number that further underlines the rising demand for musical commodities throughout the country.⁴⁰

In Perm', Saratov and elsewhere, the domestic setting and its association with women's activities gave amateur music an intimate quality. The repertoire of salon music further emphasized this feature by stressing sentimentality. Yet all music, irrespective of the place it is performed in or the stories it tells, appeals to the emotions in strong ways, while musicologists have argued that the emotional experience of music is both psychological and physical. Because musicians have to move arms and legs to play instruments, adjust their breathing or vibrate their vocal chords in order to sing, making music is also a physical experience. First and foremost, it is a form of individual self-expression in which the artist aims to overcome motoric challenges — such as slow fingers, resisting instruments or crackling vocal chords — to produce a sound that enables aesthetic enjoyment and which can express significant ideas.⁴¹ Yet music-making is also very much a communal activity, which links one musician to his or her fellow artists and also to audiences. A common repertoire and shared tastes tie music-lovers together, but listening also links performers and audiences because music gives rise to shared empathy.⁴² Musicologists

³⁸ GKBUK PKM, No. POKM-NV-2896/2, p. 1.2.

³⁹ E. Speshilova, *Staraia Perm'*, Perm', 1999, p. 113.

⁴⁰ *Spravochnaia kniga 'Vsia Perm'' na 1910 god*, Perm', 1910, pp. 104, 108.

⁴¹ Tom Cochrane, 'On the Resistance of the Instrument', in Tom Cochrane, Bernardino Fantini and Klaus R. Scherer (eds), *The Emotional Power of Music: Multidisciplinary Perspectives on Musical Arousal, Expression, and Social Control*, Oxford, 2013, pp. 76–83.

⁴² Kay Kaufman Shelemay, 'Musical Communities: Rethinking the Collective in Music', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 64, 2011, pp. 349–90; Joel Krueger, 'Empathy, Enaction, and Shared Musical Experience Evidence from Infant Cognition', in

have stressed that the shared emotional experience evoked by a certain piece of music calls forth both cognitive and bodily participation.⁴³ The collective enjoyment of music which ties audiences and musicians together was even more pronounced in contexts such as the provincial salon, where the boundary between performers and listeners was weak or else altogether absent.

The music provincial amateurs made during the nineteenth-century, then, is revealing not only about contemporary musical practice, but also about the cultural values underlying musicians' choices. Amateur musicians chose their repertoire freely, and felt it intimately. Analysing the repertoire of pianists and singers in Perm', Saratov and Kursk thus allows us to shift the focus away from institutionalized expression of high art in the capital and the intellectual discourse around national identity that emerged around it, to the sentimental experience of everyday musical practice.

Women's journals, the catalogues of publishing houses and private papers of individual music lovers that have survived in archives are revealing about the artistic choices of provincial music lovers. In the first half of the century, women's journals published mainly dances alongside short piano pieces or sentimental songs. These had titles such as 'Varin'ka: Polka-Mazurka', 'Bouquet de Champagne: Galop', or 'La Jeune pauvre Orpheline', 'Chernooka' (The Dark Eyed Girl), 'Mechtaniia devy' (The Maiden's Dream) and 'Tsyganka' (The Gypsy Girl).⁴⁴ The popularity of French titles associated these publications with a world of aristocratic cosmopolitanism. But dances and character pieces with an international flair were also part of the commercially successful compositions intended for moderately skilled and sentimentally inclined amateurs during the second half of the century. Some piano pieces with pensive heroines in their titles became international hits, such as Tekla Bądarzewska's 'Prayer of a Maiden' (1856).⁴⁵

Publishing houses made most of their profits with such fare, alongside adaptations of operatic arias and marches. This is obvious from their catalogues, in which these genres figured prominently, but it is also evidenced by the correspondence between publishers and composers. When Petr Chaikovskii desperately needed money in 1877, he beseeched his friend and publisher Petr Jurgenson:

Cochrane, Fantini and Scherer (eds), *The Emotional Power of Music*, p. 181.

⁴³ Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality*, Minneapolis, MN, 2002, p. 23.

⁴⁴ *Vaza*, 1851, no. 3; *Damskii al'bom*, 1856, nos 5, 6, 8, 9 and 12.

⁴⁵ On that piece see Ballstaedt and Widmaier, *Salonmusik*.

Can you order something from me that will be useful to you? I'll accept any work, as long as it brings in money. What do you need? songs, [piano] pieces, arrangements, translations? For God's sake, don't be shy to request the most terrible work.⁴⁶

Chaikovskii translated love songs into Russian, arranged operatic arias for piano and voice, and harmonized simple songs. Upon Jurgenson's request, he also composed a march in 1877.⁴⁷

One further popular genre in Jurgenson's catalogue was folksong. As the episode of the fictional Antonida Ivanovna illustrates, Russian songs had a strong sentimental force. The adoption of folksong for a salon setting began in the late eighteenth-century with the first publications of song collections.⁴⁸ This process owed its intellectual impetus to the philosophy of Johann Gottfried Herder and the Romantic movement, and gained additional traction during the Napoleonic wars, when elites throughout Europe rejected French cultural hegemony and turned to local lore instead. Over the course of the nineteenth century, middle-class enthusiasm for rural song, fairytales and costume became part of urban mass culture. As the learned and weighty editions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century gave way to cheap and slim editions of folksong, however, oral traditions were significantly altered to fit middle-class tastes and morality.⁴⁹

In the Russian empire, the most influential early adaption of folksong to the requirements of the salon was *Russkie narodnye pesni* (Russian Folksongs), published by N. A. L'vov and I. Prach in 1790 and reprinted in 1806, 1815 and 1896. In this collection, each song — unlike its rural equivalent — was presented as a short piece with a stable rhythm, a clear tonality and piano accompaniment.⁵⁰ The process of adapting folkloric music to the aesthetic tastes of urban dwellers, educated on Western-style music, was further developed in later folksong editions. Gradually the piano obtained a clear accompanying role in these collections, while the

⁴⁶ P. I. Chaikovskii and P. I. Jurgenson, *Perepiska*, Moscow, 2011, p. 26.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 33, 50, 58.

⁴⁸ On this process see, for example, Mark Konstantinovich Azadovskii, *Istoriia russkoi fol'kloristiki*, Moscow, 1958.

⁴⁹ One prominent example of this process are Grimms' fairytales. Ruth Bottigheimer, *Grimms' Bad Girls and Bold Boys: The Moral and Social Vision of the Tales*, New Haven, CT, 1989.

⁵⁰ Michael Hamrick Brown (ed.), *A Collection of Russian Folk Songs by Nikolai Lvov and Ivan Prach*, Ann Arbor, MI, 1987.

melody was taken over by the voice.⁵¹ Throughout all these modifications, folksongs remained easy to perform and thus appropriate for most amateur musicians.

Folksongs were also adjusted thematically to the sentimental tastes of the domestic sphere. The overwhelming majority of songs focused on themes of love, romance and longing, while folksongs with rough content — such as drinking songs or texts with explicit sexual themes — did not find their way into printed collections.⁵² Sentimental topics already made up the majority of the L'vov-Prach collection, which seems to be no coincidence, for Prach worked as a piano teacher at the Smolnyi Institute for Noble Girls and probably had his students in mind when working on the song book. In later collections, other issues seemed of no interest whatsoever. And since most of these songs were tales of unrequited love or abandonment, the obvious harmonic setting for these songs were minor keys, which contributed to the stereotype of the melancholic Russian song.

These folk songs were influenced by and in popular culture merged with art-song, giving rise to the genre of the (*zhestokii*) romances, or (cruel) romance by the second half of the century. These were simple and sentimental songs about spurned love and suppressed passion.⁵³ Robert Rothstein has described this development as a 'process of mutual accommodation in which aristocratic poets imitated peasant songs while the urban middle and lower classes [...] developed their own style with roots in peasant folklore but with inclinations toward upper-class poetry'.⁵⁴ Indeed, songs set by composers to well-known poems became such an integral part of the oral tradition that early twentieth-century collectors sometimes regarded them as folksong.

Musicologists have noted that the entry of folksong into the domestic space enabled a patriotic form of enjoyment that focused on the Russian people and their culture. In the words of Richard Taruskin, the relocation of folksong from a popular and potentially rough setting such as the

⁵¹ V. Beliaev (ed.), *Russkie narodnye pesni: Sobrannye i izdannye dlia peniia i fortep'iano*, Moscow, 1959.

⁵² Such rough songs survived in oral culture and in manuscript form. See, for example, Gosudarstvennyi archiv saratovskoi oblasti, f. 407, op. 2, d. 825.

⁵³ Dieter Lehmann, 'Zur Genesis der russischen Romanze', *Deutsches Jahrbuch der Musikwissenschaft*, 10, 1965, pp. 57–81; Robert A. Rothstein, 'Death of the Folk Song?', in Stephen Frank and Mark D. Steinberg (eds), *Cultures in Flux: Lower-Class Practices, and Resistance in Late Imperial Russia*, Princeton, NJ, 1994, pp. 108–20.

⁵⁴ Robert A. Rothstein, 'From the Traditional Ballad to the "Cruel Romance"', in Robert A. Maguire and Alan Timberlake (eds), *American Contributions to the 13th International Congress of Slavists, Ljubljana, August 2003, Volume 2: Literature*, Bloomington, IN, 2003, p. 152.

street or tavern into a stylish drawing room produced ‘a new genre that purposely mediated or transcended the borders between genres [and] social classes’.⁵⁵ What Taruskin describes here is the classical mechanism by which nationalism succeeds: commercial success in the modern public sphere allows for identification across social divides.

However, folksong published in the Russian empire and played by amateurs in the centre as well as in the provinces was not only ‘Russian’ (*russkii*). Alongside rarer examples of Caucasian ethnic music, two other ethnicities were prominently represented in this genre: Ukrainians and Gypsies.⁵⁶ Ukrainian and Gypsy song could already be found in the L’vov-Prach collection, and both enjoyed enormous commercial success towards the end of the empire.

According to L’vov, writing in the foreword of the 1806 edition of *Russkie narodnye pesni*, Ukrainian song was almost indistinguishable from Western European music. Ukrainians, he stated, had introduced the rules of art music into their popular singing, which endowed the latter ‘with a certain perfection, [but also] effaces the characteristic folk melody; the melody [...] becomes assimilated into song in general as practiced in all countries’.⁵⁷ Later scholarly literature is notably quiet on the musical specificity of Ukrainian music.⁵⁸ On the rare occasions when its characteristics are mentioned, these turn out to be the basic components of Western European or Russian music, such as tonalities or the juxtaposition of lyrical versus lively song types.⁵⁹

While the cosmopolitanism of Ukrainian music was a drawback in the eyes of L’vov and other ethnographers in search of national distinctiveness, it was exactly what later composers aspired to. In 1861–62

⁵⁵ Taruskin, *Defining Russia*, p. 17. The same point is made by Maes, *Russian Music*, p. 15.

⁵⁶ In using the term ‘Gypsy’, I’m following the usage of my sources.

⁵⁷ Hamrick Brown, *Russian Folk Songs*, p. 81.

⁵⁸ Most literature dealing with Ukrainian song does not address its musical quality at all, but focuses on its social significance instead. William Noll, ‘The Social Role and Economic Status of Blind Peasant Minstrels in Ukraine’, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 17, 1993, pp. 45–71; Bohdan Klid, ‘Songwriting and Singing: Ukrainian Revolutionary and Not So Revolutionary Activities in the 1860s’, *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, 33–34, 2008–09, pp. 263–77; K. A. Papmehl, ‘An Eighteenth-century English Translation of a Ukrainian Folk Song’, *Canadian Slavonic Papers/Revue Canadienne des Slavistes*, 24, 1982, pp. 175–80.

⁵⁹ According to Ivan Mirtschuk, Ukrainian music differentiates between major and minor harmonies, a distinction that is, of course, one of the important principles of European music. The other characteristics of traditional Ukrainian song that Mirtschuk mentions are typical for Russian song, such as recitative vs. lively types of song, and a lead voice which is eventually joined by independent voices that give rise to harmonies. Ivan Mirtschuk, ‘History of Ukrainian Culture: Part 10 Music’, *The Ukrainian Review*, 32, 1984, pp. 62–71.

Anton Kotsipinskii, a Viennese trained Galician musician, composer and owner of a music store in Kiev brought out his collection of Ukrainian song with piano accompaniment.⁶⁰ This collection, which presented traditional songs as short character pieces with a simple melody and straightforward piano accompaniment, later became a source of salon pieces which could be obtained individually and at fairly modest prices. In a similar vein, the composer Alois Edlichka, who like Prach was Czech but settled in Poltava in 1848, published Ukrainian folksong alongside *romansy* and short piano pieces. Edlichka's output was thus clearly linked to the salon. Indeed, his attitude towards folksong shows a number of characteristics usually encountered in pieces intended for the bourgeois home. His *Little Russian Folksongs* commonly begin with piano preludes, and have user-friendly left-hand accompaniment consisting of arpeggio chords, or of one strong chord followed by two identical weaker ones. German nineteenth-century critics of salon music pejoratively called the latter pattern the 'bumjakjak accompaniment'.⁶¹ We see this device, for example, in Edlichka's rendering of 'Sontse nyzen'ko' (The Setting Sun), a song in which the narrator walks through an evening landscape in the futile search of his or her loved one. The song was popular throughout the empire, appearing in a number of collections.⁶² Its simple melody is made up of the repetition of a simple theme, with a two bar cadence added at the end. In Edlichka's rendering, the E minor theme is introduced by a four-bar piano prelude before it is handed over to the voice, while the piano is assigned a harmonically simple *bumjakjak* accompaniment, consisting exclusively of E minor and diminished seventh chords. Edlichka thus combines a simple folk tune with the musical conventions of the salon.

Even more explicit in his attempt to bring folksong into the bourgeois salon was P. P. Sokal'skii, whose arrangements of Ukrainian songs were published in Petersburg and Moscow in 1903, but also found their way to Saratov. In the introduction to this work, Sokal'skii discussed the adaptation that folksong experienced on its journey from the fields to the urban salon. He mentioned how folkloric intonation was adapted to a well-tempered tuning, how regular rhythms and set keys were introduced, and how melody was privileged over harmony. And while he conceded that this new form was a straitjacket for folksong, he ultimately celebrated

⁶⁰ On Kotsipinskii, see *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, St Petersburg, 1891–1907.

⁶¹ Alois Edlichka, *Sobranie malorusskikh narodnykh pesen*, Moscow, n.d. On this style of accompaniment, see Ballstaedt and Widmaier, *Salonmusik*, p. 264.

⁶² See, for example, N. Eroshenko, *Malorusskie vechera khorovogo peniia: Sbornik ukrainskikh 3-kh i 4-kh golosnykh pesen*, Moscow, n.d. p. 6; M. Vasil'ev, *Natalka Poltavka: Operetka iz Malorossiiskikh pesen. Dlia peniia s fortepiano*, Moscow, n.d. p. 17.

this development: 'What once was nature, is now art.'⁶³ And indeed, his compositions conformed to the expectations of salon music in every respect. In addition to being accessible to a modestly skilled amateur, allocating melody to the voice and accompaniment to the piano, they also showed the extra virtue of appearing to be virtuoso pieces. This was achieved by soloistic preludes and codas for the piano that covered the full range of the keyboard, including grand intervals, arpeggios, tremolos and grace notes. Thematically and musically they dealt with longing, love and nature, or jokingly addressed women's love for clothes and shoes. Although these qualities already associated his songs with a female sphere, Sokal'skii moreover labelled them with the word 'female'.

What, then, was Ukrainian about these songs? First of all, many of these songs were linguistically Ukrainian.⁶⁴ This is interesting, considering that the Ukrainian language was barred from publishing in 1863 and again in 1876, a prohibition that was only partially revoked in 1905, but apparently not adhered to when it came to sheet music. Second, there were thematic references to Ukrainian life in these songs. Lovers were invariably Cossacks; Poles and Jews were also mentioned, although in less favourable terms. In some instances these stereotypes of Ukrainian life were further illustrated by images. The cover of Edlichka's songs, for example, depicted Cossacks with baggy trousers and long moustaches dancing in front of a reed-thatched hut, admired by women in national costume.⁶⁵ These attributes acknowledged the perception among Russian music lovers of a separate cultural and ethnic Ukrainian identity, and they represented Western exoticism: to a buyer in Moscow, St Petersburg, Saratov, or Perm', the lyrics and settings of these songs would have been mildly strange, but not too alien to be incomprehensible.⁶⁶

The same exoticism made Gypsy music highly appealing. Unlike Ukrainian music, Gypsy song always came with Russian lyrics. Indeed, L'vov went as far as to claim that 'without doubt, these Gypsy songs were composed by Russians'.⁶⁷ But unlike Ukrainian music, certain musical devices signalled its Gypsy character. Throughout Europe, Gypsy music was salon music par excellence by the late nineteenth century: 'A

⁶³ P. P. Sokal'skii, *Malorossiiskie i belorusskie pesni*, Moscow and St Petersburg, 1903.

⁶⁴ This was not always the case. Eroshenko's collection of Ukrainian songs, for example, consisted mainly of tunes with Russian texts. Eroshenko, *Malorusskie vechera*.

⁶⁵ Edlichka, *Sobranie malorusskikh narodnykh pesen*.

⁶⁶ On the relationship between Russian and Ukrainian cultural identities in the nineteenth century, see Edyta M Bojanowska, *Nikolai Gogol: Between Ukrainian and Russian Nationalism*, Cambridge, MA, 2007, pp. 14–36.

⁶⁷ Hamrick Brown, *Russian Folk Songs*, p. 80.

considerable number of — today mostly forgotten, half-professional — composers, supplying easy pieces for domestic music-making, began to compose works entitled “Gypsy” fantasies, ballades, caprices, marches, dances, airs and so on.⁶⁸ These songs were published in huge quantities and stressed emotionality.

The idea of the emotional Gypsy was rooted in Romantic ideas about the noble savage.⁶⁹ In the early nineteenth century, Romantic poets such as Gavriila Derzhavin, Aleksandr Pushkin and others celebrated passionate Gypsies who seemed to exist beyond the constraints of urban life. This stereotype, which reached its European-wide zenith with Bizet’s 1875 opera, *Carmen*, associated Gypsies with sensuality, wild emotionality, ‘inborn’ and bountiful musical talent, love of freedom and fierce independence.⁷⁰ Meanwhile, the alleged eroticism of Gypsy women, and the descriptions of them as sexually ‘available’ combined notions of romantic love and exotic perversity. As Anna Piotrowska has noted, by consuming such music, audiences enjoyed voyeuristic pleasure ‘while maintaining a sense of (apparent) moral superiority over Oriental peoples’.⁷¹

Russian Gypsy songs celebrated love and passion unrestrained by social convention. Pieces such as ‘Otdai mne etu noch’ (Give Me This Night), which included the line ‘forget tomorrow’, explicitly expressed a disregard for societal norms. Another example of such an attitude is Maksimilian Oseevich (M. O.) Shteinberg’s hugely popular ‘Gai-da Troika’ (Race, Troika), in which a couple enjoys a sledge ride and the intimacy and freedom that the distance from others bring with it. However, after a night only in the company of the shining moon and the sparkling snow, they return home and thus exchange erotic escapism for societal integration. By singing a song in a salon about ‘life among the Gypsies’, contemporaries could for a short while enjoy the fantasy of a life free of social norms and expectations.⁷²

Musically, Gypsiness was expressed through scales with an augmented second, an interval commonly associated with musical exoticism in European culture. Other flamboyant ingredients of Gypsy music included free accentuation, rich chromatics and ornaments, sudden pauses, multiple

⁶⁸ Anna G. Piotrowska, “‘Gypsy Music’ as Music of the Other in European Culture”, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 47, 2013, pp. p. 396.

⁶⁹ On orientalism in music see, for example, Derek B. Scott, *Musical Style and Social Meaning: Selected Essays*, Farnham, 2010.

⁷⁰ On the immoral female in *Carmen* see, McClary, *Feminine Endings*, pp. 63–68.

⁷¹ Piotrowska, ‘Gypsy Music’, p. 401.

⁷² ‘Life among the Gypsies’, was the series title of Gypsy songs brought out by the publisher K. Leopas.

changes of rhythmic patterns and metres, as well as the use of syncopation, diminished seventh and dominant chords with augmented fifths. As scholars have noted, these components were not intended to authentically reflect the musical practices of the East, but instead met European expectations of the exotic.⁷³

As I have suggested above, Gypsy music might have allowed contemporaries a temporary escape from the more rigid norms of nineteenth-century propriety. But they also contributed to identity formation through music. While both Ukrainian and Gypsy music offered otherness — one Western, the other Oriental — neither of these genres was ultimately so different as to be perceived as foreign. Indeed, the instrumental exoticism of Gypsy music was toned down considerably in Russian Gypsy romances. Typical Gypsy instruments — violins, clarinets and cymbals — gave way to the bourgeois piano, hardly an appropriate instrument for an itinerant lifestyle; and much of the rhythmic and harmonic otherness of the genre was equally subdued. The Western quality of Ukrainian music that L'vov remarked upon in the late eighteenth century had become the universal musical idiom in Russian towns and cities half a century later. In this way, both Gypsy and Ukrainian music offered exoticism, but this was exoticism 'light' that could easily be incorporated into a notion of 'ours'.

Instead of stressing the otherness of these two genres, then, it is more fruitful to analyse them together with Russian folksong of the salon setting. The Russian, Ukrainian and Gypsy musical idioms added national flavouring and by so doing gave rise to a specifically imperial domestic space.⁷⁴ This setting acknowledged both the westward and eastward expansion of the Russian empire, and in a limited fashion it also represented the country's heterogeneous linguistic and cultural customs.

The imperial quality of fashionable music was further underlined by popular Cossack songs. The Cossacks, who as mentioned above also featured prominently in Ukrainian tunes, were an ethnically diverse group united by their lifestyle as military settlers and defenders of the empire's southern and eastern borders. Because of the Cossacks' ethnic diversity and their loyalty to the tsar, they can be regarded as the quintessential imperial people who combined Russian culture with regional traditions, and were devoted to an imperial mission.⁷⁵ Cossack songs consequently

⁷³ Ibid. p. 400; Scott, *Musical Style and Social Meaning*; Richard Taruskin, "Entoiling the Falconet": Russian Musical Orientalism in Context', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 4, 1992, pp. 253–80.

⁷⁴ For a similar approach in the field of literature, see Bojanowska, *Nikolai Gogol*.

⁷⁵ On this cultural fusion in Cossack communities see, for example, Willard

dealt with courage in battle, but also addressed the pain of separation from loved ones, faithfulness and death.

Cossack song and salon music met, for example, in the work of Aleksandra Zheleznova.⁷⁶ Like Edlichka's or Sokal'skii's *oeuvre*, Zheleznova wrote sentimental salon music and songs inspired by folkloric material. She adapted folksong to the tastes of urban music lovers when she, together with her husband, brought out Cossacks songs in 1899. The couple had collected the tunes in the Orenburg area, where Zheleznov, a Cossack officer in the Ural Host (*uralskie voiska*) was based, before harmonizing and adapting them for piano and voice. The resulting melodies were short pieces with simple accompaniment, including the broken chords and the *bumjakjak* pattern that we encounter so frequently in salon pieces.

The exoticism of border regions also found its way into provincial middle-class homes through popular art-songs which, like Cossack melodies, were set on the fringes of the empire. Among the tunes that amateurs appreciated were 'V poldnevnyi zhar v doline Dagestana' (In the Midday Heat in the Mountains of Dagestan) based on verses by Mikhail Lermontov, or 'Khas Bulat' which musically reworked Aleksandr Ammosov's 'Elegiia'. Both of these songs commemorated the Caucasian wars of the first half of the nineteenth century and were set in the mountains inhabited by Muslim tribes. Another tune that amateurs sang enthusiastically was Aleksei Verstovskii's musical setting of Pushkin's 'Chernaia shal'' (The Black Shawl). These songs — like Gypsy music — focused on the exoticism of the empire's ethnicities and their wild ways.⁷⁷ The characters encountered by the (most likely) Russian narrator in 'Chernaia shal'' are Greek, Jewish and Armenian, while the story itself tells of passion, betrayal and murder in Bessarabia.

By buying and performing Russian folksongs, Ukrainian melodies, Gypsy romances and songs set on the empire's borders, amateur musicians infused the home with an imperial presence. Catherine Hall, Sonya Rose and Joanna de Groot have argued, for the British case, that empire was

Sunderland, *The Baron's Cloak: A History of the Russian Empire in War and Revolution*, Ithaca, NY and London, 2014, pp. 63–82.

⁷⁶ Vladimir Zheleznov and Aleksandra Zheleznova, *Pesni ural'skikh kazakov*, St Petersburg, 1899. On Zheleznova, see Vsevolod Rukopolev and Eva Öhrström, 'Alexandra Zheleznova-Armfelt: Rysk tonsättarinna med rötter i Sverige', *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning*, 1993, pp. 63–82.

⁷⁷ Georgii Petrovich Bazilevskii, *Son*, St Petersburg, 1905; Kristian Genrikh Paufler, *Son: Dlia peniia s soprovozhd. f.-p.*, Moscow, 1871, reprinted by Jurgenson in 1885; A. V. Tolstaia, 'Son: Romans dlia golosa s soprovozhd. f.-p.', n.d. [1864]; A. N. Verstovskii, *Chernaia zhal'*, Moscow, 1888; *Pesni: Khas-Bulat i dr.*, Tiflis, 1911.

taken for granted in everyday lives. Quotidian activities, they note, ‘had powerful, if implicit associations with patriotism (through the use of “empire” goods) and exotic pleasures (the glamour of familiar tropical or oriental products)’. In the British empire, ‘the *combination* of the domestic (indigenous rural purity) with the colonial (tropical exotic flavour) [...] had cultural power and impact’.⁷⁸ The same, I contend, also applies to nineteenth-century Russia and was in no ways restricted to amateur music. *Niva* (The Cornfield), Russia’s most popular illustrated journal with a faithful readership among the urban middle classes, reported from far-flung corners of the empire, such as Vladivostok on the pacific ocean, the Altai mountains bordering China and the steppes stretching all the way from Ukraine in the west to the Ottoman, Persian and Chinese empires in the east. *Niva* — like the Cossack troupes in military terms — thus discursively defined and consolidated the faraway frontiers of the tsarist empire. The journal also outlined technological achievement at home and abroad, discussed Russian history, religion and art, and communicated developments in the imperial family whilst also depicting chubby babies and domestic bliss. Patterns of everyday consumption and everyday activities, such as reading *Niva*, or playing *romansy*, brought the empire and its diversity into provincial drawing rooms and also situated this empire within the international context of foreign news. Consumption and music-making thus shaped the imperial selves of readers and musicians. This process translated the harsh realities of imperial rule into harmonious, picturesque and pleasing forms.

Shteinberg’s *Gai-da Troika* is an example of this imperial *bricolage*. It is a Gypsy romance set in a Russian wintery scene replete with snow and a troika, the sledge drawn by three horses which, since Nikolai Gogol’s novel, *Dead Souls* (1842), had become an archetypal symbol of Russia itself. *Gai-da troika* was written by the Jewish composer Shteinberg, son of a Biblical scholar and Rabbi from Vilnius and son-in-law to the nationalist composer Rimskii-Korsakov. The piece was dedicated to the nineteenth-century Russian general Nikolai Nikolaevich Pushchin and published by the Petersburg-based music store of the German Julius Heinrich Zimmerman. Zimmerman, who was also the exclusive purveyor of musical instruments to the Russian army, advertised *Gai-da Troika* as part of a series of songs sung by the famous performer of Gypsy tunes, Anastasiia Vialtseva.

⁷⁸ Joanna de Groot, ‘Metropolitan Desires and Colonial Connections: Reflections on Consumption and Empire’, in Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (eds), *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, Cambridge, 2006, p. 170.

Musically, *Gai-da troika* contains many of the ingredients that signified exoticism to Western audiences: syncopations and dotted notes, stark rhythmic changes and a C minor section with raised fourths, i.e. with a harmonic setting that corresponded to Franz Liszt's understanding of a Gypsy scale. But Shteinberg also used elements that were characteristic of salon repertoire: *Gai-da troika* is to be played in *tempo di valse*, it contains many grace notes, which according to Ballstaedt were 'the epitome of the sentimental expression in salon music'.⁷⁹ Moreover, the left-hand accompaniment of *Gai-da troika* consists of one strong chord followed by two identical weaker ones, i.e. the *bumjakjak* pattern that we have already encountered in pieces by Edlichka and Zheleznova.⁸⁰ In Shteinberg's song therefore, Russian imperial greatness (general, Zimmerman's army connection) was combined with Eastern exoticism (Gypsy music), Russianness (*troika*, winter, Rimskii-Korsakov), Central European Jews and Western culture (piano, Zimmerman, *tempo di valse*).

The popularity of Ukrainian songs can equally be seen to express approval of the imperial project. Faith Hillis has recently argued that support for 'little Russian' (i.e. Ukrainian) culture was first and foremost an expression of an imperial mentalité that stressed the harmony between the empire's people and was directed against the national aspirations of the Poles.⁸¹ In the long run, however, the 'little Russian lobby', as Hillis calls the activists advancing Ukrainian culture, consolidated a sense of Ukrainian otherness that contributed to the emergence of Ukrainian nationalism and undermined the stability of the empire.

Yet, as the piano and Shteinberg's waltz tempo illustrates, salon music in Russia was from its very beginnings also part of larger European cultural developments. Not only was folksong adapted for the salon setting to the harmonic and rhythmic structures of Western music and accompanied on pianos, printed folksongs and other salon fare came with universal Italian instructions such as *allegro*, *ritardando* or *mezzo forte*.

Yet Western musical culture was even more visible (and audible) in Russian salons when contemporaries sang adaptations from operas. Russian publishers, of course, sold arias with piano accompaniment taken from the works of Glinka, Rimskii-Korsakov, Chaikovskii and Verstovskii; but they also brought out popular tunes lifted from operas by Donizetti,

⁷⁹ Ballstaedt and Widmaier, *Salonmusik*, p. 330.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p. 264.

⁸¹ Faith Hillis, *Children of Rus': Right-Bank Ukraine and the Invention of a Russian Nation*, Ithaca, NY, 2013. Edyta Bojanowska similarly situates the topos of Ukrainianness in Russian literature within an imperial context. Bojanowska, *Nikolai Gogol*.

Rossini, Verdi, Meyerbeer, Mozart and Wagner. Jurgenson, for example, sold the *Souvenir de l'Opéra* series, which allowed customers to obtain well-known operatic arias for a comparably modest price of 15 or 20 kopeks.⁸² All pieces in the series came with the original Italian, French or German libretti, but also offered alternative Russian translations. As the pricing and the translations indicate, these publications were marketed for Russian customers, yet on the cover of the individual arias, the content and the publishing house were exclusively advertised in French. Even if the opera lovers who eventually obtained these publications chose to sing the arias in their native Russian, the series' cosmopolitan character allowed them to stress their own worldliness and international sophistication.

In addition to these operatic adaptations, Jurgenson and other publishers also sold gallops, waltzes, mazurkas, polkas, tangos and cake-walks for piano, i.e. French, Polish and American dances. In a salon, music lovers might perform and listen to a potpourri of Ukrainian song, Gypsy love and Italian passion, before impersonating French courtesans, Italian nobles, Spanish aristocrats, German knights, Nubian princesses or Dutch sailors, and even trying a few tango steps. In addition to this multi-cultural *bricolage*, the national identities of dances were often ambivalent, if not outright confused, as a particular *Troika*, a 'Russian polka' composed by the Frenchman Georges Hauser illustrates.⁸³

Amateur music-making, then, was not only infused with the national as expressed in Russian patriotic operas or folksongs. The commercial success of folksong was from its origins also part of a musical culture that situated the Russian within a larger imperial and international context, and often amalgamated all three. The different types of music that sounded in Russian homes, then, simultaneously gave rise to imperial, national and cosmopolitan sentiments.⁸⁴ Even if the fictional Polovodov forced himself to appreciate his wife's performance of Russian folksongs, there was no getting away from French *chansonnettes*.

It is, of course, possible that individual amateur musicians restricted themselves to one of the various genres on offer. Personal accounts about

⁸² *Souvenir de l'Opéra: Choix d'airs, romances, duettinos, tios, quatuors, etc. Avec des paroles italiennes et russes ou russes et allemandes ou françaises*, Moscow, n.d.

⁸³ *Bal XX-ogo veka: Sobranie samykh liubimykh i novykh salonnykh i natsional'nykh tantsev iz repertuara pianistov*, St Petersburg, n.d.

⁸⁴ I disagree with Marie Sumner Lott here, who argues that Scottish, Hungarian and Czech songs in the German musical repertoire signify that contemporaries implied that those cultures 'belong together in one German collective'. Marie Sumner Lott, *The Social Worlds of Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music: Composers, Consumers, Communities*, Urbana, IL, 2015, p. 76.

musical practice, however, indicate that such selectivity — if it existed — must have been the exception rather than the rule. Elena Valerianovna Diagileva (stepmother to the impresario Sergei) remembered how she and her future husband enthusiastically intoned Gypsy romances alongside operatic arias, played dances on the piano and even staged a Ukrainian opera at home in the 1880s and 1890s.⁸⁵ Norin, the violinist from Perm' who played piano trios with his wife and daughters, also sang Pushkin's 'Chernaia Shal'.⁸⁶ The papers of Aleksandr Dmitrievich Gorodtsov, a choir conductor and public figure in Perm', contain hand-written music that include all the types of music of Russian salon entertainment: a simple piano piece, the *Seufzerwalzer* (Sigh waltz) by the Austrian-Romanian composer Josif Ivanovici, Ukrainian folksongs, Glinka's setting of Pushkin's 'Roza' (The Rose) and a 'Hungarian Csárdás', a dance which contemporaries would have equated with Gypsy music.⁸⁷ Gorodtsov was also a lover of Russian and Cossack songs and we can assume that these were also intoned in his home.⁸⁸

The most complete insight into a music lover's repertoire can be gleaned from the notebooks of Efim Artem'ev Sal'nikov, a resident of Perm' and graduate of the city's middle school (*uezdnoe uchilishche*). His papers indicate that Sal'nikov, who was of modest peasant-estate background and born around 1883, was an inquisitive man whose interests expressed middle-class values. He had an interest in folklore and collected songs and stories from the age of fifteen, and was also fascinated by international technological inventions.⁸⁹ In 1900, Sal'nikov filled five pages of his notebook under the rubric, 'I know the following songs'. The 148 titles in his inventory include Russian folksongs, *romansy* based on the verses of Russian poets, arias taken from the operas of Rimskii-Korsakov, Verdi and Verstovskii, Cossack songs, Ukrainian songs, Gypsy songs, Russian, French and Bulgarian marches. Like his contemporaries, Sal'nikov sang 'Chernaia shal', 'V podnevnyi zhar v doline Dagestana', 'Khaz bulat' and 'Solntse nizenko', while three of his Cossack songs also appear in Zheleznova's collection.⁹⁰ Geographically, Sal'nikov's songs mentioned the

⁸⁵ Diagileva, *Semeinaia sapis'*, pp. 72, 77–80.

⁸⁶ GKBK PKM, No. POKM-NV-2896/3. p. 1.4.

⁸⁷ GAPK, F. 690, op. 1, d. 76.

⁸⁸ GAPK, F. 690, op. 1, d. 79. Russian and Ukrainian songs were prominent in the repertoire of Gorodtsov's choirs GAPK, F. 690, op.1, d.33. p. 1.20b-1.203.

⁸⁹ His papers contain, among other things, a list of 'Discoveries and inventions of the nineteenth century', and a list of his teachers. GKBK PKM, No. POKM 2125/4, p. unpaginated.

⁹⁰ 'Solntse za lese zakatilos', 'Kak po moriu', 'Dolina dolinushka'.

local trade fair in Irbit, the Ural mountains, but also the Caucasus, Nizhnyi Novgorod, Iaroslav, Moscow, St Petersburg, the rivers Volga, Kazanka, Neva and Don, as well as lake Baikal. Sal'nikov's repertoire then, like *Niva*, outlined the reaches of the empire. Indeed, some of his songs describe battles against the Ottoman empire or Cossacks guarding the frontier and thus very explicitly delineate the empire's borders.

Unlike the catalogues of printing houses and the musical repertoire of Gorodtsov, Sal'nikov's list also contains numerous prisoners' songs and tunes about exile, which sit awkwardly next to the monarchical tunes he also sang. It is, however, quite possible that numerous Russians sang such songs, even if censors ensured that they were not published or performed publicly. Sal'nikov's patriotic tunes, such as 'Bozhe Tsaria khрани' (God Save the Tsar) or 'Slava na nebe' (Glory in Heaven), are, moreover, at odds with the international songs he clearly loved, such as Italian arias, a song about Spain, a French march, or a *romans* based on verses by the Irish poet Charles Wolfe. Taken together, however, it is striking how similar Sal'nikov's repertoire is to the print output of publishing houses.

Tara Zahra has recently suggested that the populations of European empires were frequently indifferent to nationalism.⁹¹ It is tempting to assume that salon music, with its bricolage of national, imperial and international voices, is an instance of this national disinterest. After all, contemporaries sang songs about imperial campaigns alongside tunes that required them to take on the roles of Russian or Ukrainian peasants, Gypsy travellers, prisoners and exiles, or Western European nobles. Performing these different roles themselves, or watching family members intone their voices, required music lovers to identify more deeply with these diverse figures than an audience would have done with the musical heroes on a spatially separated operatic stage.

Nonetheless, the patriotism and conservatism of Russia's middling sort should not be dismissed too quickly. Monarchism, as expressed in Sal'nikov's patriotic hymns, illustrated journals, urban celebrations, imperial portraits in private homes or memoirs, was truly felt. And of course, the salon repertoire also invited music lovers to relate to Russian national heroes, such as Cossack soldiers, or the seventeenth-century peasant Ivan Susanin and hero of Glinka's opera, *A Life for the Tsar*. Moreover, the tolerance of ethnic otherness remained limited to relatable Ukrainian themes and Gypsy tunes. The songs of ethnic minorities that mainstream imperial culture regarded as irredeemably alien, such as

⁹¹ Tara Zahra, 'Imagined Noncommunities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis', *Slavic Review*, 69, 2010, pp. 93–119.

Jewish Klezmer music — a popular export item of the Russian empire to audiences in the New World around the turn of the century — was not consumed by ordinary amateur musicians in the Russian empire; nor did the pentatonic harmonies of the empire's Muslim population enter the common middle-class salon.⁹² Even those songs that seemingly challenged authority, such as prison songs or tunes about the lonely deaths of soldiers in Dagestan's mountains, did not necessarily undermine the approval of the political status quo; nor did *romansy* that lamented the pain of lovers seriously question the social norms that stood in the way of these amorous unions. Even if such songs introduced a careful fantasy about alternative possibilities, this vision was quickly abandoned as song texts ensured that singers embraced a form of fatalism that wallowed in sorrow and celebrated the power of destiny. When enemies were defeated or adventurers returned home, sentimental songs reinforced imperialism, autocracy and the values of patriarchy.⁹³

Yet the musical patriotism of the Russian salon was not quintessentially ethnic Russian, but instead allowed the expression of a dynastic imperial loyalty. For many amateur musicians, singing Russian, Ukrainian and Gypsy songs might thus have offered the possibility to express an imperial identity which, as Mark Bassin argues, was central to Russian nationalism.⁹⁴ According to Taruskin, the orientalism of Russian opera and art song expressed clear support for imperial expansion; and like Bassin, Taruskin identifies an expression of Russian superiority in this appeal of the exotic.⁹⁵ While some Russian amateur musicians might indeed have felt superior to members of ethnic minorities, this conclusion seems to be both too quick and too sweeping in relation to amateur music-making. The message of salon music, with its combination of Russian, Eastern and Western components, was more complex. There was no clear juxtaposition of 'us' versus 'them' in this repertoire, and Russian, Ukrainian, exotic or indeed international themes remained open to straightforward serious performance as well as to ironic subversion. Salon music, therefore, did not

⁹² The Gramophone Company, for example, recorded numerous tracks of Klezmer music in the Russian empire for its American market. John R. Bennett, *A Catalogue of Vocal Recordings from the Russian Catalogues of the Gramophone Company Limited Obshchestvo Grammofon c OGR. OTV. 1899–1915*, Blandford, MA, 1977, pp. 15, 157.

⁹³ A similar point is made by Laura J. Olson and Svetlana Adonyeva in *The Worlds of Russian Village Women: Tradition, Transgression, Compromise*, Madison, WI, 2012. I would also like to thank Anna Ljunggren for drawing my attention to the importance of fatalism.

⁹⁴ Mark Bassin, *Imperial Visions: Nationalist Imagination and Geographical Expansion in the Russian Far East, 1840–1865*, Cambridge, 1999, pp. 11–13.

⁹⁵ Taruskin, 'Entoiling the Falconet'.

clearly juxtapose national, imperial or cosmopolitan identities, but instead enabled a combination of all three. The amateur repertoire thus created the aural equivalent to the Saratov home decorator who hung an oil painting of Napoleon next to the images of a tsar and his tsarina and enjoyed the aesthetic result.

Within the diverse national and cosmopolitan messages that the different musical genres offered, connotations of domestic comfort, bourgeois propriety and middle-class ideals about graceful femininity remained strong. Amateur musicians throughout the empire practised and performed entertaining pieces in carefully decorated drawing rooms. They chose the music they made freely, enjoyed their own artistic abilities proudly and felt the emotions that they could convey through their pieces intensely. Amateur musicians also situated their domestic performances within the cultural landscape of their local towns, and they placed them within the wider empire and in international contexts. Of vital importance within this setting was that these pieces allowed for pleasant entertainment, and stood for time passed in a leisurely fashion.

Yet the conceptual ambiguity of the salon was precisely why the intellectual guardians of ideological commitment and artistic taste were not prepared to appreciate the aesthetic jumble, the dogmatic confusion, ~~the light-hearted character~~ and the moral ambiguity of salon music, and declared it artistically wanting and driven by the greed of publishers. The piano playing of bourgeois girls and women was decried as banal at best, but more frequently described as worryingly tasteless.⁹⁶ According to V. Morkov writing in 1859, Russian girls only learned to play the ‘vulgar tunes of a few Italian operas’.⁹⁷ Almost half a century later, Anton Chekhov used Tekla Bądarzewska’s hugely popular salon piece, ‘Prayer of a Maiden’, in his play *Three Sisters* (1901) as a metaphor for the uninspired life from which his characters longed to escape.⁹⁸ Three years after him, Vera Shtokman, although pleased about the popularity of the piano, bemoaned that the girls who operated this instrument played mostly ‘light salon pieces, fashionable dances etc.’. This ability, she concluded, ‘might provide a girl with an opportunity to succeed in polite society but from musical education she remains far removed’.⁹⁹ Morkov’s and Shtokman’s contemporary views

⁹⁶ The juxtaposition of the aristocratic salon as artistically sophisticated versus the bourgeois one as aesthetically and socially limiting is a long-lived concept. This idea is, for example, stated but not established in Öhrström, *Klaveret, notboken*.

⁹⁷ Morkov, ‘O muzykal’nom obrazovanie v Rossii’. On intellectual dismay in the face of female amateur pianists, see also Sargeant, *Harmony and Discord*, pp. 21, 197.

⁹⁸ A. P. Chekhov, *Izbrannye proizvedeniia v trekh tomakh*, Moscow, 1967, p. 542.

⁹⁹ Vera Shtokman, ‘Neskol’ko slov o muzykal’nom obrazovanie’, *Gitarist*, 1904, pp.

have survived in the scholarly literature. In the words of Soviet scholar Boris Vol'man, the popularity of salon pieces in general and of Gypsy song in particular constituted an 'avalanche of vulgarity that descended onto the [late imperial] market of printed music'.¹⁰⁰ Irrespective of whether or not this commercially successful salon music only appealed to women (and there is a lot of evidence to suggest that it did not), the association of the genre with the fair sex, with amateur activity and with a domestic setting meant it could easily be rejected as artistically insignificant.

Publishers and the many owners of music stores in St Petersburg, Moscow, Saratov, Perm' and other provincial towns throughout the empire, however, could not have dismissed salon music as unimportant. It was vital for the financial success of their enterprises. In a letter to the composer Mili Balakirev, Boris Petrovich Jurgenson (son and heir to the founder of the publishing house) acknowledged in 1908 that he did not regard popular songs as artistically meaningful. But, he added, 'you know that some of these [Gypsy] *romansy* sell 10 times as much in one or two years as works by you, Chaikovskii and our other great composers do in decades'.¹⁰¹ Jurgenson and his competitors could not have run successful firms without catering to the taste of amateur musicians. Yet if we take the commercial success of these pieces seriously, we also have to acknowledge that salon pieces were the music that most contemporaries made and heard. With this in mind, we should reassess the allegedly national or cosmopolitan character of nineteenth-century Russian musical culture. Rather than these binary opposites, internationalism and ethnic heterogeneity within a domestic setting were the defining features of the empire's musical identity.¹⁰²

8–9. Oleg V. Timofeyev, 'The Golden Age of the Russian Guitar: Repertoire, Performance Practice, and Social Function of the Russian Seven-String Guitar Music, 1800–1850', unpublished PhD dissertation, Duke University, 1999, p. 337; Vera Shtokman, 'Pis'mo v redaktsiiu', *Gitarist*, 1904, p. 8.

¹⁰⁰ Vol'man, *Russkie notnye izdaniia*, p. 173. In a similar vein, the *New Grove*, the most authoritative English-language reference work on music, suggests that M. O. Shteinberg, author of *Gai-da Troika*, only composed serious music, thus disassociating him from the seemingly embarrassing salon genre. *Grove Music Online (GMO)* <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>> [accessed 14 September 2015].

¹⁰¹ A. S. Liapunova (ed.), *Perepiska s notoizdatel'stvom P. Jurgensona*, Moscow, 1958, p. 287.

¹⁰² Edyta Bojanowska has made a similar point in relation to Russian literature. Bojanowska, *Nikolai Gogol*, pp. 26, 377.